

1995

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**The Generation Gap: A comparison of the negative portrayals of
Hippies and Generation Xers**

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March 15, 1995

Presidential Scholars Senior Project

ABSTRACT

The term "generation gap" is usually used to describe a situation in which a division develops between generations. The tension results from one generation, usually the younger generation, possessing a set of values and beliefs that are consistently different from the values and beliefs of another generation, usually the older generation. A comparison of newspaper articles concerning both Hippies and Generation Xers was conducted to illustrate the contention that generational conflict occurs in a cyclical pattern with each successive generation. The older generation usually portrays the younger generation in a negative manner. Articles from both The New York Times and The Des Moines Register from the years 1967-1969 and 1992-1994 were compared. The articles reflected contemporary portrayals of both Hippies and Generation Xers. A latent manifest content analysis resulted in the classification of derogatory portrayals. These categories include: alienated and antisocial; odd and immoral; lazy and apathetic; and childish and unintelligent. Implications of these findings are discussed.

The Generation Gap: A comparison of the negative portrayal of Hippies and Generation Xers

"Young men have strong desires, and whatever they desire they are prone to do. They have not yet been humbled by life or come to know the force of circumstances. They think they know everything and are positive about everything," (Ladd, 1995; 54). To most young adults, this quote would sound as if it had been said by an adult today. In reality, it is a quote from Aristotle. This seems to display evidence that a generation gap existed during the time of Aristotle and the other great philosophers. Researchers have noted that older generations often speak negatively of the younger generation (Strauss and Howe, 1991). Evidence of the contempt which the older generation holds for the younger generation can be illustrated in a number of ways. The purpose of the present study is to examine how the mass media, specifically newspapers, portrayed members of youthful generations and how these images were similar during the time of the Hippies and the current Generation Xer group.

BACKGROUND

What Is A Generation?

What exactly is a generation? Is it based on age, educational level, developmental level, or currently held values? A review of the literature reveals that a universally agreed upon definition of this enigmatic term has yet to be developed. Numerous researchers have used a variety of definitions, or concepts, to describe a generation (Acock, 1984; Guardo, 1982; Jones, 1980). For example, the most commonly used definition,

the "cohort" concept, defines a generation as a group of people of the same general age. This currently seems to be the most widely held definition for the word.

A second definition focuses on the "development stage" and places people together in task-homogeneous cohorts. This group of people are at the same level of ability due to their developmental process (Acock, 1984). Within this group, individuals do not have to be of the same age to be at the same level of development. Maturity does not always correspond with age. Individuals within a specific generation can also be described by their similar personalities. A generation according to this definitional strategy, is "the collective expression and reflection of the stages of change that occur in the personality development of individuals clustered together in peer groups" (Guardo, 1982; 501). Another generational concept is the "discrete time span" cohort. These generational cohorts include individuals who are born within a 30 year time span. The generation is defined by the amount of time it takes for the group to take "power" away from their parents. This generation usually takes control of the family from their parents during the time they are from age 30 to about age 60 (Acock, 1984). This thirty year time span is often looked at as the "time it takes for a female to replace herself by giving birth to a daughter" (Jones, 1980; 3).

Some define a generation by its particular "zeitgeist." This refers to a group of people who "share content of style,

politics, values, art, -a culture- that is historically distinct" (Acock, 1984; 152). It is the "sum of the changes in the mores, behavior, and values characterizing a cohort group over a specified period of time" (Guardo, 1982; 501). The Hippies of the late 1960s and early 1970s are an example of a generation defined by its "zeitgeist." They believed in such things as free love and the use of drugs; values and behaviors not supported by their parents.

A key aspect of the quest to universally define the term generation is that it must take into account different cultures, backgrounds, and situations. People are born into a generation, or it is something that occurs within their lifetime without their agreement. As people are merely grouped within a generation, what characterizes a generation may not be reflective of all its members. Today, a generation usually refers to a group of individuals who by sharing some common experience, usually the year of their birth, have been grouped together as a representative whole (Acock, 1980). This is the definition that will be used for this paper.

The Generation Gap

Generations, however they are defined, are often said to be in a state of conflict. A "gap" seems to divide one generation from another. The definition of "generation gap" is as vague as the term generation. This concept intuitively conveys a message that tension exists between generations, which stems from one generation possessing a set of values and beliefs that are

consistently different from the values and beliefs of another generation (Meisels and Canter, 1971). This conflict results from the generations concurrently living together and not agreeing on basic values. For example, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the era of the Hippie movement, many believed a severe generation gap existed within this nation. Many saw this gap as "reflecting the youngest generation's inclination to see the world differently than did its predecessors" (Ladd, 1986; 10). The world was undergoing massive change during this time, which in turn help to make this gap more evident. According to Mead (1978; 119):

"The expressions of the Generation Gap in the 1960s were perceived as part of larger social movements - civil rights in the United States, the struggle against the Vietnam War, the Algerian independence movement against France, or the struggles in Cyprus, the effort of young people to introduce a new honesty about sex and new attitudes toward the human body."

Generational conflict is exhibited in many magazine, newspaper, and journal articles. The December 1992 to January 1993 issue of The Economist went so far as to discuss the possibility that there just might be "a new war" developing amongst the generations (Oh grow up; 29). Time reported that "warnings about a generational rift have appeared in the Atlantic and The New York Times" (Zeman, 1993; 71). An article in Public Opinion, referring to the late 1960s and early 1970s, labeled the generation gap between Hippies and their elders as "acute" and "unprecedented" (Ladd, 1986; 10).

The belief that generations living at the same time have

totally different values may be exaggerated by the media. For example, in a recent poll by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut (Ladd, 1995), it was found that the youth and the adults of the United States share similar beliefs. Both groups believed in God; believed that we live in a nation where one can actively pursue and obtain his/her dreams and goals and that he/she is rewarded for his/her hard work and effort; that big government should be considered a threat; and that the government should not limit the individual opportunity open to all in order to obtain an equality in individual incomes (Ladd, 1995). However, many continue to perceive generational conflict involving values to exist in our society today. For example, according to an article in the May/June 1992 issue of The Futurist, adults and youth have different views on personal, political, social, ethical, financial, and other issues. Adults tend to be more optimistic and altruistic, concerned about the good of the nation as a whole. The current youth, however, tend to be self-centered and cynical about their prospects of success (Baby busters enter, 1992).

...insert table 1 here...

The Present Study

Baby Boomers

The generation of 72 million people born between the years 1947 and 1964 are commonly called the baby boom generation. The label of "baby boom" refers to "a brief period of high fertility

in many Western industrial nations immediately following World War II" (Stark, 1989; 675). As with all generations, the baby boom generation is given many other labels or nicknames such as, "War Babies, Spock Babies, Sputnik Generation, Pepsi Generation, Rock Generation, New Generation, Love Generation, Vietnam Generation, Protest Generation, and Me Generation" (Jones, 1980; 1). The various nicknames or labels that a generation is given usually relates to the events that occurred during the generation's coming-of-age, such as the Vietnam War or the launching of Sputnik.

This generation of Americans consist of approximately one-third of the current population of the United States. The exact first year of which this baby boom generation is supposed to have begun is not widely agreed upon. Some historians label 1946 as the beginning of the "boom" due to the rise in the annual number of births during 1946. Others choose 1947 as the beginning because of the sharp rise in the fertility rate that occurred in 1947. The boom in fertility rates and births peaked during 1957, although the baby boom generation did not end until 1964. During 1965, the fertility rates dropped significantly lower than the previous 18 or 19 years, thus marking the beginning of a new generation (Robey, 1982).

Researchers have identified four phenomena that help explain the increase in births during 1946 to 1964. First, women were getting married earlier than the previous generation. This led to women having their first babies earlier which increased the

total number of babies born each year when combined with the women who were having their second, third, fourth, etc., babies. Secondly, a greater proportion of all women were having families (at least two children) than ever before. Third, a greater number of all United States women were having larger families; two to four children rather than one or two. Lastly, during these years there was an increase in fertility due to the increases in the average family size. The Great Depression of the 1930s and its propaganda encouraged the citizens of the United States to place a higher value on such institutions as motherhood, family life, and the necessity of a positive homelife, in turn leading to an influx of births (Bean, 1983).

The people born during the baby boom era have been overgeneralized and labeled. It has been said that, "they went on to become the inquisitive students of Sputnik-era grammar schools, flower-child hippies and draft resisters, Jesus freaks and New Age braneaters, yuppie singles, and (most recently) the leaders of ecological, educational, and drug prohibition crusaders" (Strauss and Howe, 1991; 26-27). Often what was said was not complementary to boomers. According to Stark (1989), "the baby boomers, with a reputation as a self-centered generation, are less likely to perform volunteer work" (552). Stark compares the SAT education of the baby boom generation with the previous generation. His results show that on the SAT in 1964, the year the initial group of baby boomers graduated from high school, the scores were significantly lower than they had

been in previous years. He concluded that one had comparatively lower intellectual abilities than the previous generation. Jones (1980) went so far as to call the baby boomers "an educational disaster for the United States" (58). Hippies seemed to reflect this "disaster" to many of the older generations during the 60s and 70s.

Generation X

The generation that is currently experiencing young adulthood has been labeled Generation X. The name is derived from Douglas Copeland's 1989 book of the same name. This generation consists of the 42 million people born between the years of 1965 and 1976. Since the fertility rates and number of births are lower than those of the baby boom generation, Generation X has also been referred to as the baby bust generation (Robey, 1982). This label implies that the current generation of young adults are "bust and not worth bothering with" (Mitchell, 1993; 51). Other nicknames for this generation are "slackers" and the "13th generation," corresponding to the fact that they are the thirteenth generation to live under the United States flag (Strauss & Howe, 1991), as well as the "blank generation," since they do not seem to have chosen a clear identity for themselves (Mitchell, 1993). Most of these nicknames have negative connotations, rather than being indicative of the events this generation has lived through.

Martin (1993) called the busters the "whiny generation."

This was in response to his belief that the baby busters were blaming the baby boomers for the social ills of the United States. His editorial is filled with negative images and labels of the younger generation. Such words as "spoiled," "self-indulgent," and "naive" are used to describe Generation X. According to him, most are "whiners" with "TV-generation values" who "throw a tantrum" when things don't go their way. He believes that this generation, "whose every need has been catered to since birth," are so "spoiled" that they "can't understand the concepts of long-term planning and deferred gratification." To him this is unjustifiable behavior from a "generation whose biggest achievement to date is something called grunge rock" (10).

Generation X has been criticized often in the mass media during their young adult years. "Dumb" is a term often used to describe this generation. According to an article in American Demographics, "as college students, they have been criticized as dumb by one blue-ribbon commission after another," (Strauss and Howe, 1991; 27). But as Crispell (1993) points out, "thinking of them as a whining group of dummies is as accurate as claiming that all boomers were hippies or yuppies" (9).

An article in The Futurist (1992), lists the eight core, or essential, values the author believes one needs to understand in order to get Generation Xers to work. Most are very negative. Busters tend to be self-oriented. They feel cynical towards most things, a belief that has led to them being labeled as the "why

bother generation." Most are very materialistic, desiring much money, power, and the status that comes with both. They try to hold onto their adolescent years, refusing to act like adults. They want quantity time to do as they please. Having fun is a top priority for them, leading to a poor work ethic. They are slow to commit to anything; work, love, adulthood, etc. The final value possessed by Generation X, according to this article, is that they refuse to bow down to, or follow, any type of authority. These values correspond to the "poor attitudes, poor skills, and short attention spans" that this generation is supposed to possess (Baby busters enter, 1992; 53).

Throughout the mass media, Generation X is portrayed very negatively. Companies, desperate to sell their products to this generation, have often exploited these negative images. Burger King chose for their spokesperson what has been called "a congenially dumb, monosyllabic, backward-capped" young man in an attempt to relate to this generation (Strauss and Howe, 1993; 11). Many current advertisements, aimed at this generation, have used "sloppily dressed young actors" (How do you, 1994; Section 5).

In a recent Esquire article, the author used many negative images to provide Generation X males with hints on obtaining employment in the current job market. He said to "wear that earring with pride," since it is the "generation's major contribution to our civilization" (Bing, 1993; 77). He triumphed previous generation's possession of "depth, resonance, and

extended concentration," while explaining to Generation X that they are only "able to skip over topics like a flat stone over a man-made reflecting pool" (77). This was one of their strengths, because without Generation X employees, the company would not "know what people with minimal attention spans are thinking" (79). The author argued that this lack of depth can be attributed, in part, to Generation X's inability to initiate and develop new ideas. The author also believes that today's young adults are "ultracool" and "dispassionate," able to see things as situational and move on, without thinking of what it truly means. This is because "almost nothing really engages their deepest muscles" (79). Finally, Bing (1993) believes Generation X has the ability to go far in the work force. They have no baggage keeping them back, such as a spouse; kids; a house; etc. The author interprets this lack of obligation as a sign that this generation doesn't "really care at all about anyone else" (79). The negative image of Generation X seems to be prevalent in all the press coverage of this generation. Such an article does little to encourage older employers reading it to hire younger persons. It does, however, decrease the possibility that Generation Xers will have a fair chance in obtaining employment, since these negative opinions will have preceded them.

This type of generation gap, one in which one generation perceives and portrays another negatively, is not a recent advent. Brothers and Gaines (1973) suggest that these negative perceptions of younger generations by an older generation is

simply "another instance of the kind of generational conflict that has always taken place" (326). Part of the reason for this conflict is that each generation believes that they are new and different than the others, that their lives and life experiences have been more difficult and stressful than all previous generations (Jones, 1980). Each adult generation seems to be unable to accurately recall their youth and what really occurred. As a result, they are unable to view the youthful generation with realistic expectations and standards. According to Myers (1993):

"It's not that we are totally unaware of how we used to feel, just that when memories are hazy, current feelings guide our recall. Parents of every generation bemoan the values of the next generation, partly because they misrecall their youthful values as being closer to their current values" (47).

This inability to accurately recall one's youthful experiences and values help fan the flames of generational conflict presented by our media.

To illustrate the contention that this generational conflict occurs in a cyclical pattern with each successive older generation portraying the younger generation in a negative manner, a comparison of newspaper articles was conducted. This involved Hippies, whom represent the baby boomers as they came of age, and the current Generation X as they come into adulthood. Hippies were used as a category of comparison given that, while they may not represent the entire boom generation, they are a group identifiable by a term which has negative connotations - comparable to Generation X. Hippies were generalized to represent most of the youth that supposedly disagreed with adult

values and behaviors during the time frame of the coming-of-age of most boomers. Generation X also has negative connotations, while being representative of the current youth culture.

METHODS

Articles from both The New York Times and The Des Moines Register were compared on the basis of the negative portrayal of the Hippies and the negative portrayal of the baby bust generation. Both newspapers were used in an effort to cover the gaps in material. For example, authors writing for The New York Times, while writing about the current youth culture, were less likely to categorize the generation as Generation X. The reporters for The Des Moines Register, however, more readily used this label. A latent manifest content analysis was completed to determine if patterns existed in the portrayals of youthful generations. The articles that were selected for comparison contained words, phrases, and/or sentences that were negative in tone concerning either Hippies or Generation Xers.

RESULTS

After examining over 100 articles, a pattern consisting of four categories of negative portrayals was evident. Each negative portrayal of both Hippies and Generation Xers were placed into one of these four categories: alienated and antisocial; odd and immoral; lazy and apathetic; and childish and unintelligent.

Alienated and Antisocial

In the newspaper articles, both Generation X and the Hippies

were described in terms that labeled them as alienated and antisocial generations. By describing the younger generations as unfriendly to the outside world when a bond and/or attachment once existed, the newspaper articles were reiterating the idea that a generational conflict exists. Common adjectives found in the articles were forms of the word alienation. There are many examples of this for Generation Xers.

...insert table 2 here...

The word alienation was not used as often to describe Hippies, but there are some examples such as: "to be alienated from the values of the adult world" (Kifner, 1968; 18) and "hippies were alienated, disorganized and often troubled youths" (Stern, 1968; 1).

Similar descriptions of both generations exist which allude to the notion that these groups of youth are alienated and antisocial. Generation X young adults were described in many ways that imply alienation and antisocial behavior.

...insert table 3 here...

These terms paint the image of the current crop of youth and young adults as distrustful of the baby boomers. It leaves one with the impression that they have retreated into their own dark, depressing world, a world in which outsiders, especially the baby boomers, are not welcome.

Hippies were described as an alienated youth culture, using other terms and phrases that are similarly negative.

...insert table 4 here...

Once again, the authors have described the youth, this time Hippies, as a generation that does not respect or trust adult authority and have retreated to a unfriendly, separate world, or existence.

Odd and Immoral

A second category of criticism and negativism concerning both Hippies and Generation Xers in newspaper articles is what is considered their odd and immoral behavior. Many of the articles focused on how both generations dressed, talked, acted (especially concerning drug use), in order to show that their behavior was vastly different from adults. Whereas this type of criticism was not as emphasized to the same extent for Generation X as it was for Hippies, it appeared nevertheless.

...insert table 5 here...

The existence of a fashion trend called grunge was very evident in the negative portrayals of Generation Xers. Those writing the articles tend to see the entire current youth culture as following and supporting this fashion trend. The wearing of grunge clothing, whose name comes from its grungy, or dirty, appearance, as well as the current trend for some to pierce various body parts, seemed to represent the oddness of this entire generation. Some authors also lamented what they considered to be an increasing trend to abuse drugs.

The Hippies were often described as acting odd and immoral.

Most of the articles concerning hippies focused on this description.

...insert table 6 here...

One of the best examples of this category of negative portrayals attempts to show how the vast majority of adults treated Hippies, which in turn illustrates their perceptions of this youth culture: "A house wife sees a long-haired hitchhiker, hesitates, and drives by. A bearded man walks into a store and the clerk asks, only half in jest, 'Did you have anything to do with the murders?' A shaggy couple waking in the hills is chased away with a shotgun." (Roberts, 1969; 1). One might conclude from these articles that the only thing that these youths wanted out of life was the convenience of doing drugs and not following social norms of personal hygiene. No matter what the main points of these articles were, the authors commonly slipped in a comment concerning the Hippies' dirty appearance. It was an effort to say that the Hippies' existence and behaviors were very odd and often immoral.

Lazy and apathetic

Lazy and apathetic are two other adjectives that often are used to describe both Generation Xers and Hippies. Many different terms and phrases were used by the authors of the articles examined to perpetuate this image of laziness in these two generations. For Generation Xers, one of the labels attached to them is based on this lazy stereotype. Many articles refer to these youth as a generation of "slackers." This label comes from

the term slack" and refers to "one who avoids work or physical exercise; a shirker" (Safire, 1994; 8). Other terms and phrases were used to reiterate this image of laziness and apathy.

...insert table 7 here...

One of the most interesting examples of this attempt to show Generation X as lazy and apathetic, is a quote from one of our forefathers. "'I do not take a single newspaper, nor read one a month, and I feel myself infinitely the happier for it.' -- Thomas Jefferson" (Short takes, 1994; 2). The header that preceded this quote said "Generation X Hero" (Short takes, 1994; 2). This quote is a rather negative one and is used to reflect the ideals, or lack thereof, of Generation X.

For Hippies, the authors focused less on this lazy and apathetic image and more on the odd and immoral behavior image, as was previously mentioned. However, the description of Hippies as lazy was present in some articles.

...insert table 8 here...

Hippies were seen as lazy and apathetic, as were Generation Xers, because they were often enjoying the time they had as youths. Many were doing things their own way, surviving the best they could, thus angering some adults. Many of the adults saw this as a refusal to take responsibility, a laziness and an inability to act as an adult.

Childish and Unintelligent

The final similarity between the negative press concerning

Hippies and Generation Xers is the portrayal of each as childish and unintelligent. Neither of these terms are specifically used but many words and phrases are used that infer that both generations acted like children and were not very smart. For Generation Xers this was most often displayed by discussing the tendency of this generation to "move back in with their parents" (The unlucky generation, 1993; 12). Generation X has often been labeled as intellectually inferior to the baby boomers and other adults writing about them. For example, Generation Xers have been called "congenially dumb, monosyllabic" (Strauss and Howe, 1993; 11) and "morons" (Krenis, 1993; 1). One article even dealt with the generation's knowledge concerning food. It was written that they "don't know where food comes from" and that they "see food totally as a commodity, not as a source of nourishment." The author believes that in relation to this, the generation of current young adults can't cook since they "don't know the difference between boil and simmer" or such things as "what 'high altitude' directions on a cake mix mean" (Gressette, 1994; 1). One newspaper movie critic hints at this group's lack of intellect by discussing a movie's lack of plot and credibility and writing that "for some moviegoers, particularly the Generation X crowd, maybe that portrayal and the contemporary-rock soundtrack are enough" (Bunke, 1994; 4).

Hippies were also often labeled as childish and unintelligent. It seems as if this was one way in which the authors could rationalize their behavior. Hippies were said to

"audaciously, aggressively, parade their youthfulness" and that they loved to "revel in their childish enthusiasms" (Sale and Apfelbaum, 1967; 81). An author believed that by being "concerned with doing things which are popular among one's contemporaries" and getting involved within the Hippies' "frantic exchange of self-enhancing remarks, the verbal fencing, the proof of one's 'in-ness'" these young adults were just displaying their need to act childish (Bryan, 1967; 39). It was also written that the Hippies' "regressive behavior" and "conditions of infancy" were often "produced by the combination of a dominant mother and a weak or absent father" (Leo, 1967; 78). One author suggested that the Hippies' use of drugs was just an "instrument for postponing the harsh realities of growing up" (Gould, 1967; 91). A consequence of this childish behavior might be that within the Hippies "not all are intelligent and promising" and that "some are mentally ill or not very bright." They became Hippies because they were "merely uninformed and seduced by the gross simplifications" of the Hippie life (Bingham, 1967; 25). One author quoted a judge telling the Hippies to "'grow up'" (Fenton, 1968; 20), while another quoted a man who wondered "'if they can ever grow up to mind the store'" (Hippies crash preview, 1969; 32). A Florida governor said that he would not let the state "become a playground for hippies" (Kirk has youth, 1969; 68).

CONCLUSION

By comparing the articles written about both Hippies and Generation X as each group came-, or comes-, of-age, one is able

to see that very similar statements or assertions are being made about each group. Some dissimilarities exist between the two groups primarily due to the specific events of their generation. To understand differences between generations one must determine the parenting techniques used for the generation; the social and cultural events that existed and occurred during the generation's adolescent years; and the problems that faced them as they came-of-age (Strauss & Howe, 1991). Given the dissimilarities that exist between generations at a global level, the written images of the two groups can be categorized into the four groups previously discussed: alienated and antisocial; lazy and apathetic; odd and immoral; and childish and unintelligent.

A cycle of negativity seems to be in existence. The key to this cycle is that the generation that had previously been described in these negative terms are the ones currently writing such negative portrayals of today's youth. One implication of this cycle is that young adults may be starting to believe these negative stereotypes and are trying to set themselves apart from the "majority" of their generation. Articles written by Generation Xers for a college newspaper reiterate the negative portrayals written about them by older generations. Most complain of the negative stereotypes while at the same time agreeing with them, for example: "Our generation has often been accused of being apathetic. This accusation is more than a little justified," (Generation X scorns, 1994; 5) and

"We need to redeem the reputation of Generation X now. We need to prove to them that we are intelligent

adults, that we know how to handle ourselves, and that we can take responsibility for our actions and ownership of the consequences. Translation: We have to stop whining and do something" (Manuel, 1994; 7).

One of the most interesting examples discusses that the stereotype of Generation Xers as a generation that is "lazy, apathetic and would rather watch MTV than contribute anything productive to society" "is simply not true" (Krueger, 1994; 8). Previously in that article, however, the author listed reasons why voting might not seem necessary or fun, such as "going to vote is probably not as fun as watching last week's Seinfeld episode for the tenth time" and "it's probably not even as humorous as counting how many times Bo and Billie on Days of Our Lives are 'almost' going to be back together" (Krueger, 1994; 8). The author of this article complains of the stereotypes, yet she does not realize that she believes in them enough to use them to influence young adults, her generation, to vote.

Each successive generation must cease what Myers labels the "misrecall of their youthful values as being closer to their current values" (Myers, 1993; 47). Each generation needs to become aware of this cycle of negativity and actively participate in the ending of the labeling of each generation based on these negative categorizations if they ever hope to reduce the generational conflict.

"For what is needed above all is an awareness of tensions and hostilities that we are all too often prone to ignore. What is needed is an appreciation of adult failings and errors instead of hasty denunciations of the young protagonists. Such awareness may produce the sensitivity that we need in order to minimize the hostilities and to rectify the faults" (Sheleff, 1981; 332).

The generational conflict has been in existence since Aristotle (and probably before), can't we learn from our past in order to build a better future?

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Table 1: Generational Gap in Values*

	<u>Baby Boomers (1946-1964)</u>	<u>Baby Busters (1965-1975)</u>
Personal:	Self-Discovery	Self-Oriented
Political:	Liberal	Pseudo-Conservative
Social:	Altruistic-humanistic	Competitive
Ethical:	Moralistic	Situational
Financial:	Buy now, pay later	Almost hopeless
Buying:	Have it now	Whomever has most, wins
Products:	Home appliances, tools, homes, cars	High-tech gadgets for work and fun
Reward:	"I earned it"	"I want it, but may not be able to get it."

*Baby busters enter the work force: fun-loving
 "twentysomethings" challenge managers. (1992). The
Futurist, 26, 52-53.

Table 2: Descriptions of Generation Xers Using a Form of the Word "Alienation"

"bright but alienated" (Rich, 1994; 17)
 "isolated and alienated" (Pareles, 1994; 1)
 "alienation and diminished expectations in the harsh 90s"
 (How do you, 1994; 5)
 "speaking the language of alienation" (Steinhauer, 1994; 1)
 "alienated young shoppers" (Steinhauer, 1994; 1)
 "an alienated generation that will engage in cultural
 warfare" (The unlucky generation, 1993; 12)
 "Americans coming of age today feel alienated" (The unlucky
 generation, 1993; 12)
 "precocious and alienated" (Muro, 1992; 1)

Table 3: Descriptions of Generation Xers as Alienated and Antisocial

"laconic purveyors of knowing sarcasm" (Hornaday, 1994; 11)
 "darkly sociopathic" (Hornaday, 1994; 11)
 "sullen" (Pareles, 1994; 1)
 "insolent youth" (Baker, 1994; 13)
 "cynical group of twentysomethings" (Now the small, 1994; 23)
 "somber" (Clinton meets MTV, 1994; 1)
 "estranged" (Muro, 1992; 1)
 "defiant and depressed" (Muro, 1992; 1)
 "twentysomething discontent" (Muro, 1992; 1)
 "resentful" (Muro, 1992; 1)
 "dark and vindictive" (Muro, 1992; 1)
 "less trusting" (Arends, 1993; 1)
 "disillusioned" (Arends, 1993; 1)

Table 4: Hippies Described as Alienated and Antisocial

"denigrate the motives and resolve of those 10 or 20 years older" (Growing up ahistorical, 1967; 7)
"suffered a grievous environmental deprivation which has stunted their social and intellectual growth" (Growing up ahistorical, 1967; 7)
"too introverted and cynical" (Spiegel, 1967; 24)
"disenchantment" (Dugan, 1968; 25)
"rather introspective" (Kifner, 1968; 18)
"uncongenial and deeply disturbing" (David Rockefeller bad, 1968; 23)
"reject all forms of authority" (Dr. Kirk urges, 1968; 5)
"turbulent and inchoate nihilism" (Dr. Kirk urges, 1968; 5)
"symbolic parricide" (Leo, 1969; 24)
"making life difficult for the old" (Margaret Mead finds, 1969; 62)
"dissident" (Hippies to be, 1969; 47)
"disaffected" (Hippies to be, 1969; 47)

Table 5: Generation Xers Described as Odd and Immoral

- "disheveled clothing" (How do you, 1994; 5)
- "sloppily dressed" (How do you, 1994; 5)
- "social norms were suspended" (Gabriel, 1994; 4)
- "indulgences in drink, drugs, and intimate physical contact"
(Gabriel, 1994; 4)
- "drifters and castoffs" (Safire, 1994; 8)
- "values, or lack of same" (Frank, 1994; 19)
- "poor benighted Generation Xers" (Frank, 1994; 19)
- "the grunge generation" (Clinton meets MTV, 1994; 1)
- "abuse of designer drugs" (Malkin, 1993; 9)
- "mindless herd decked out in grungewear, sporting pierced
noses and nipples" (Malkin, 1993; 9)
- "wear their baseball caps backwards, set a fashion trend
called 'grunge,' watch MTV, join gangs" (The unlucky
generation, 1993; 12)
- "young woman with a large metal stud pierced in the middle
of her bottom lip" (Malkin, 1994; 9)
- "young man replete with dreadlocks and a tattooed forearm"
(Malkin, 1994; 9)

Table 6: Hippies Described as Odd and Immoral

- "refusal to accept norms and patterns of behavior" (Getze, 1967; 3)
- "hippies like LSD, marijuana, nude-parties, sex, drawing on walls and sidewalks, not paying their rent, making noise" (Arnold, 1967; 41)
- "long and dirty hair" (Arnold, 1967; 41)
- "maintain their own mores and values, however flimsy" (Sale and Apfelbaum, 1967; 81)
- "nonconforming and irritating" (Molehill to mountain, 1967; 42)
- "psychedelic life is at best strange, at worst an outrage" (Zion, 1967; 3)
- "freak show, circus, side show" (Hippies in a, 1967; 27)
- "unwashed, unshod, unkempt, and uninhibited" (Golden, 1967; 25)
- "people like you" (Hippies stage a, 1967; 18)
- "unusual emphasis on 'oral' themes" (Leo, 1967; 78)
- "masochistic patterns - dressing poorly, living in bad environments" (Leo, 1967; 78)
- "emphasis on drugs" (Leo, 1967; 78)
- "seeking liberation from contemporary society through the use of drugs" (Golden, 1967; 27)
- "a hippie is a person who has dropped out of society" (Golden, 1967; 70)
- "radical ideas" (Golden, 1967; 70)
- "dressed in their normal studies shabbiness" (Kifner, 1967; 23)
- "crazy tribe" (Trumbull, 1967; 3)
- "if judging by outward appearance and personal habits only, might identify them as hippies" (Trumbull, 1967; 3)
- "smellable" (Bingham, 1967; 25)
- "undesirables" (Arnold, 1967; 77)
- "many hippies have emotional or psychological problems" (Lukas, 1967; 52)
- "weirdies" (Thompson, 1967; 24)
- "stringy-haired" (Thompson, 1967; 24)
- "poor and dirty, wandering and ecstatic, revolutionary and unstable" (Dugan, 1968; 25)
- "rejected conformity" (Rutgers professor contends, 1968; 24)
- "extravagantly clad youngsters" (Argentina arrests hippies, 1968; 16)
- "unkempt beards, psychedelic beads, or bare feet" (Mail must get, 1968; 26)
- "fantastic get-ups" (Mail must get, 1968; 26)
- "hair down to their shoulders" (Mail must get, 1968; 26)
- "do their 'thing'" (Hippies get street, 1968; 66)
- "against the mainstream values of American life" (Stern, 1968; 72)
- "exotic religion and music" (Stern, 1968; 72)

Table 6: (continued)

- "judge by their clothes and hair, they seemed to have surfaced, as at some magical signal, from every hippie hole" (Hughes, 1968; 19)
- "shaggy-haired" (Hippies flee to, 1968; 22)
- "counseled the hippies to 'rejoin the human race'" (Fenton, 1968; 20)
- "garishly garbed professionals, long-haired, bedraggled" (Fenton, 1968; 20)
- "make the hippies conform to health and building code regulations" (Hawaii is facing, 1968; 54)
- "disheveled young people" (Bigart, 1968; 23)
- "unique contemporary source for dissemination of crabs" (Brody, 1968; 67)
- "any immoral purposes" (Hippie-type group, 1968; 83)
- "the dirtier and more unkempt the clothing and hairdos, the dirtier the mouths (Cavities and gum, 1968; 24)
- "reflect the life style being pursued" (Pop festival lures, 1969; 23)
- "crowd like that" (Pop festival lures, 1969; 23)
- "town's traditions that some residents believe are being threatened by an influx of young people" (Kovach, 1969; 45)
- "long hair and flamboyant dress" (Kovach, 1969; 45)
- "unsavory types" (Kovach, 1969; 45)
- "should be deloused and have their heads shaved to clean them up" (Kovach, 1969; 45)
- "have this town declared a disaster area and bring the troops in" (Kovach, 1969; 45)
- "impermanent relationships" (Roberts, 1969; 29)
- "long-haired hippie Communists" (Kifner, 1969; 22)
- "street people" (Bigart, 1969; 29)
- "hippies and their ilk" (Bigart, 1969; 29)
- "squatters, many in need of shoes and soap" (Emerson, 1969; 3)

Table 7: Generation Xers Described as Lazy and Apathetic

- "issues didn't pervade the festival" (Scott, 1994; 42)
- "call for young Americans to hew to their responsibilities"
(Jehl, 1994; 3)
- "'act in the spirit of America' by doing more to contribute
to their society and its institutions" (Jehl, 1994; 3)
- "an idle generation" (Steinhauer, 1994; 1)
- "lazy, destructive morons" (Krenis, 1993; 1)
- "no one expects much out of you" (Krenis, 1993; 1)
- "eat out a lot and use a lot of portable food, a lot of
convenience things" (Gressette, 1994; 1)
- "generation wanders the fringes as inspired non-
participants" (Muro, 1992; 1)
- "lazy, cynical and without direction" (Papatola, 1994; 2)
- "disenchantment and absence of passion" (Papatola, 1994; 2)
- "apathetic Beavis and Butt-head set" (Malkin, 1994; 9)
- "lazy and apathetic, unmotivated and unprincipled,
especially in our political beliefs" (Arends, 1993; 1)
- "think the only thing we can do is flip burgers at
McDonald's, watch television and eat our mothers'
cooking" (Arends, 1993; 1)

Table 8: Hippies Described as Lazy and Apathetic

- "hippies are for nothing" (Arnold, 1967; 41)
- "almost total noninvolvement" (Arnold, 1967; 41)
- "beggars, drug addicts or screwballs" (Trumbull, 1967; 3)
- "bums" (Golden, 1967; 31)
- "panhandling" (Golden, 1967; 31)
- "lacks direction" (M'Luhan predicts depression, 1967; 95)
- "'slump of human drive and ambition'" (M'Luhan predicts depression, 1967; 95)
- "vagrants" (Argentines forcing haircuts, 1968; 3)
- "for nothing in particular" (Stern, 1968; 72)
- "spent their aimless days" (Stern, 1968; 72)
- "live as a parasite in our society" (Prince Sihanouk rebuffs, 1969; 14)
- "hippies saunter on the street" (Avres, 1969; 6)
- "draft-dodging and desertion" (Avres, 1969; 6)
- "lack dedication and discipline" (Avres, 1969; 6)